

Central Budget—Deceptions Abound

The crisis-ridden capitalist economy of our country is sinking deeper and still deeper in the morass of stagnation. The latest exercise in budgeting at the centre reveals more than conceals this stark reality. The populist measures like marginal concessions to urban middle class and relatively low additional imposts are calculated to hoodwink the people. The so-called reliefs will be more than offset by the rise in cost of living. The hike in prices of petrol and petrol products and busfares, proposed rise in railway fares and freights, pre-budget hike in many commodities, are just the beginning of what will follow. A runaway inflation looms large in the economy. It is high time to shed all sorts of illusions about concessions received and prepare for all out mass struggle to defend life and livings against the repacity of the crisis-ridden capitalist class and their chosen representatives at the governments. Our party urges upon the toiling people to rally behind its efforts to organise a bold resistance to these onslaughts.

The Railway Budget

The general budget of the Central Government was preceded by the railway budget which has tried to convert a deficit of Rs. 28 crores into a surplus of Rs. 42.71 crores by proposing to raise additional revenues of Rs. 204.24 crores. After covering the increased expenses for meeting DA instalments to the staff, an increase in fuel cost and cost of stores and additional dividend, the surplus is estimated to be so. This feat will be done by a surcharge of 15 P.C. over traffic goods barring some articles which would get exemption. However much the government

may assure that there will be no further increase in prices of essential commodities due to hike in railway freight, experience tells otherwise. Besides coal coming under the purview of surcharge, the industrial and business communities will not spare the opportunity of raising the prices of products further on the plea of increase in railway freight. The industrial and commercial circles have not kept their intention secret this time also as is obvious from their reactions. Passenger fare will also rise. But as in the general budget the railway budget projects an illusory picture. The estimate of surplus is based

on certain assumptions which have every possibility of not coming true. For example, it assumes that the rate of price increase will remain the same and for this, charge on payment of DA to the staff will be within its calculation. Secondly, it takes the fuel cost to remain static which may not be true. Thirdly, it gives a low percentage of depreciation allowance for its huge assets and gives no adequate expression to the urgent need of huge capital expenditure to replace the outmoded rakes, machineries, etc., even to maintain the present operational efficiency. It is well to remember that the previous railway minister, did also show a surplus of Rs. 71 crores in last year's budget which however turned out to be a deficit of Rs. 42 crores in the revised budget estimate for the year. There is therefore every possibility that the surplus shown in the budget will end up in a deficit. Such is the chaotic state of affairs in the railway finance in particular and the state of the economy in general. One fact however stands out in bold relief. While the

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He who wants to arrive at truth will have to accept Marxism as the philosophy of life—Com. Shibdas Ghosh

The Calcutta District Committee of our party organised a school of politics in Calcutta from the 7th to 9th June '80. It was conducted by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party.

The school was held in four sessions. During the first three sessions, the tape-recorded speech of the school of politics that was held in Calcutta from the 2nd July to the 5th July, 1973, and conducted by our beloved leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the

era was played on. In the last session Comrade Nihar Mukherjee addressed the school.

All through the three sessions when comrades with deep attention and one mind listened to the invaluable thoughts and teachings of their beloved leader and teacher they never felt even for a moment that he was not

physically present among them.

We know he is still as much present among us, as he was when alive.

He is and shall ever remain very much with us through his thoughts and teachings—his invaluable contributions to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism which will endure as living source of inspiration to us and guide us as beacon light in our struggle to achieve

revolution.

In course of his speeches Comrade Ghosh discussed various aspects of the philosophy of dialectical materialism and analysed the different aspects of the organisational problems inseparably linked up with the task of Indian revolution, in the light of that philosophy of life.

We would like to highlight, though very briefly some of the important points of that illuminating discussion.

On Philosophy

While elaborating on the philosophy of dialectical materialism, and its role in our life, Comrade Ghosh observed:

At the very outset, we must know why we should practise the philosophy of dialectical materialism despite the fact that so many other renowned schools of philosophy are existing in the world and more so in our country. Comrade Ghosh beautifully elucidated that since our main object is to know

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Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

(Fortnightly)

Founder Editor-In-Chief: COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Vol. 13.
No. 18

JULY 1, '80
TUESDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on the Central Budget

Calcutta June 21, 1980:

Describing the current Central Budget as out and out anti-people and pro-monopolist, Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the press:

"The special feature of the Central Budget lies in the fact that its out and out anti-people and pro-monopolist character has been skillfully attempted to be concealed and given instead a 'pro-people' look. This is a stunt—pure and simple. There is no denying the fact that in this third phase of intense general crisis of world capitalist market, more so when Indian capitalism is tottering on its legs, this budget will place a still heavier burden on the shoulder of half starved ill-clad, and tax-crippled

poor people of our country, seventy percent of whom live below poverty line, pushing them to the point of utter destitution.

"The estimated deficit of Rs. 1417 crores, general reduction of direct taxes, introduction of additional tax to the tune of Rs. 258 crores, exemption of even the rich from paying wealth tax on land, and providing good amount of relief to the industrialists are sufficient to prove whose interest this budget aims at serving.

"Coming as it does in the wake of Railway (Contd. to page 8)

Com. Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Meeting

SAHEED MINAR MAIDAN

5th August

5 P.M.

Main Speaker: COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

President: COMRADE SUKOMAL DASGUPTA

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truth and to apply that truth in life and practice and since truth cannot be arrived at by subjective thinking however powerful a man may be and since the only way to know truth is to depend on science—we have accepted Marxism-Leninism or dialectical materialism as the philosophy of life because it is the only philosophy that is based on science. He also showed that not only it is based on science it is itself the science of all sciences which has emerged through the process of scientific co-ordination and generalisation of other branches of science. If any other philosophy had this particular character of itself being a science, we would not have any objection in accepting that philosophy—he opined.

We, who have engaged ourselves in the struggle for emancipation of the Indian people, we, who desire to advance the revolutionary struggle of the toiling people stepwise, so as to ultimately establish socialism by overthrowing the existing capitalist state, need a philosophy of life. We need such a philosophy which will unfold truth before us and guide our struggle.

It will guide us in our quest for truth, unveil the truth relating to all vital questions of our life that we face—the problems that confront the human society, its progress, the problems that exist within the society relating to class struggle and the problems confronting the task of revolutionary transformation of the state and society.

We want emancipation. We desire to change the world by consciously acting on and accelerating the laws of social progress and development.

But to act consciously what we need is a philosophy which will help us to correctly realise the inherent laws that govern the world and grasp the real causes underlying various problems of life and society.

Philosophy is an instrument, which just like a torch illumines the path, enlightens the darkness in the light of knowledge. And dialectical materialism is that philosophy, Comrade Ghosh observed. All other philosophies try to interpret the world from a subjective stand point. But dialectical materialism is the only philosophy, the first and foremost philosophy in the history of the human society which is based on science.

The different particular branches of science like Physics, Chemistry, Biological sciences etc. experimentally study the particular laws governing their particular fields of activities. And dialectical materialism is the only philosophy that has developed by scientifically co-ordinating and integrating the truths unveiled by these different particular branches of science, engaged in their particular fields of activities.

the other hand it is itself a science.

While examining the particular features which distinguish the philosophy of dialectical materialism from other philosophies and schools of thoughts Comrade Ghosh gave emphasis on the fact that when all other philosophies have tried only to interpret the world, dialectical materialism has also shown the way to change it. So it is a methodology, a guide to action to bring about such a change.

But how can one learn this science, this methodology? Comrade Ghosh observed dialectical materialism or Marxism cannot be learnt by parroting what Marx Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao tse-tung and other authorities had written. To know Marxism does not mean to be able to quote at length from classical literature on Marxism or what those revolutionaries had

have assimilated the science. They know that the general teachings of Marxism have a universality and so also a particularity of application. There exists a contradiction between the two, which is mutually conducive to each other.

These general universal teachings must be applied in concrete manner in a concrete situation.

And Comrade Ghosh observed: *Concretisation and concrete application of Marxism according to the condition in a concrete situation in a sense is an elaboration of Marxism to the extent it has enriched the understanding of Marxism.*

There are people who in the name of peculiarities of a particular situation, try to disregard the fundamental tenets which are universally applicable to all countries under the given international period and situation and thereby try to change the basic tenets of the science of

playing the role of anti-thesis to the present exploitative capitalist system or not, that means, if he fails to correctly study the contradiction and goes on helping that party—then however emotionally he can do it he will objectively create obstacle in the path of revolution.

We must never forget what Comrade Ghosh observed while concluding his discussion on philosophy: Dialectical Materialism is a philosophy of life, a guide to action which changes the life itself.

The practice of this science is not an act of fancy or pedanticism. His life—he who has correctly realised this philosophy is bound to be influenced and ultimately changed. Knowledge that this philosophy provides is not estranged from action. It begets action. Knowledge is not for oratory, nor for simply writing in journals, nor for academic exercise. It is for changing the nature, the world and the self.

But how can we ascertain that we have correctly realised it?

The acid test to confirm it lies in the fact whether the knowledge that we have acquired is changing our life—if it is helping to free us from all sorts of narrowness, changing our behaviour, outlook, habits and customs—intensifying our urge to build up organisation and strengthen it, developing our fighting spirit and fervour and thereby more and more encouraging us to engage ourselves in the sphere of greater struggle, identifying ourselves with the cause of the party and revolution.

Marxism is the only philosophy which teaches that the task of philosophy is to change the world through action. Devoid of action it leads to degeneration. Marxism will then become a dictum like religion or dogma. It will cease to be any more a philosophy of life, a guide to action, a methodology.

On organisation

One of the vital organisational aspects that

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While all other philosophies have so far tried to interpret the world Marxism is the only philosophy that guides to change it also

The truths revealed by these particular sciences—being truths of particular domains of this material world are nothing but partial truths. And it is only by integrating these partial truths and generalising the particular laws discovered by these particular sciences that we can form a comprehensive total scientific idea of the world, both nature and the human society. But previously it was not possible to make such an objective study. And it is only following the development of particular sciences to a certain high stage that dialectical materialism emerged in the human society as that particular system of discipline which elaborates the general laws and principles governing these particular laws revealed by these particular sciences. So, on the one hand it is a philosophy, whereas on

observed from time to time. Those who do it, reduce Marxism to dogma. They forget that to learn Marxism means to master the Dialectical Materialist methodology which these Marxist thinkers had applied to analyse different phenomena at their time and arrive at truth, so that we may succeed to apply the method to correctly analyse different phenomena of our time and find out the truth and change the world accordingly. But to change the world, we will have to change ourselves first. How can we change ourselves? By grasping the truth and applying that in life that this philosophy unveils. And that is why Marxism-Leninism is more powerful than the most lethal weapons in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie.

Those who have learnt the method in this way

Marxism. And this tendency in the name of 'science' gives birth to reformism and revisionism.

While explaining the theory of contradiction, the quintessence of the philosophy of dialectical materialism, Comrade Ghosh stated that among the many contradictions existing within a domain, one must identify the principal contradiction, must determine the dominant force of contradiction. Failing it, we cannot correctly detect what particular line we must unite with, with whom we must identify and whose oppositional role we must strengthen and accelerate for bringing about revolutionary transformation. If one is misled by the strength or apparent glamour of a political party donning the cloak of Marxism and does not take care to analyse whether that political party is really

Loyalty to revolutionary leadership is the expression of self-respect —COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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received primary importance in Comrade Ghosh's invaluable teachings, is ideological centralism, the part and parcel of the democratic centralism within a Marxist-Leninist Party

It is only by constant study of classics of Marxism-Leninism, by leading constant polemics and discussions within the party and thus by developing one's understanding of science of Marxism-Leninism in identity with the understanding of the party that we can build up ideological centralism.

Failing that, we cannot build up uniformity of thinking, nor can there work any sense of authority of the leadership within the party.

A manifold historical responsibility has been entrusted upon us. To discharge that responsibility we are to move to the people, to organise them and their struggle. And to fulfil that task we must have to project the leadership of the party which will lead revolution, before the masses. What we need is unquestionable loyalty to the leadership, to the party.

Loyalty is an essential ingredient to build up the character. None can accomplish any task without being loyal to the cause, loyal to his belief. When one whole-heartedly and earnestly tries to perform what one believes or desires to perform that manifests one's self respect.

So, *loyalty is an expression of self-respect*. Loyalty may at times also become blind. But then, one has to fight against blindness but not against loyalty. Absence of loyalty may lead either to self-denial or self aggrandisement. It may ultimately result in ultra democracy and rotten individualism.

Loyalty to a belief or a cause means loyalty to the organisation which is destined to fulfil the same, loyalty to its leadership. None can become a revolutionary without being loyal to the cause of revolution.

I am loyal to revolution, this is why I am loyal to a leadership, so long that leadership and party

represent the fundamental task and duties of revolution.

We do party work not for the sake of party work alone, nor we obey the leadership for the sake of obeying alone, it is not a fancy. We do it because we have identified ourselves with the cause of revolution.

The correct class consciousness is the correct revolutionary consciousness and the correct revolutionary consciousness is the correct revolutionary party consciousness.

So, you cannot have allegiance to revolution without having allegiance to a revolutionary party. You cannot be loyal to revolution without being loyal to revolutionary party. And can you be loyal to the party without being loyal to the leadership? That's the whole question—you can't.

Because the concept of leadership is the concept of authority. To undermine the authority of the party in the mass movement and mass struggle and revolutionary battle, that means liquidating the party authority.

To explain the underlying reasons that gave birth to a reactionary wave in the country where once there was a deep sentiment and emotion among the people regarding communist ideology, Comrade Ghosh told us:

Since 1929, the movements in our country have been coming in contact with communist philosophy, thoughts and ideology.

Whether consciously or unconsciously the people were drawn to the ideas of communism. The Soviet revolution, the Chinese revolution and all other glorious onward footsteps of international communist movements attracted them towards communism despite the fact that those people who enjoying the international recognition tried to build up communist movement in th

country, could not correctly interpret and uphold the thoughts and ideas of communism, communist philosophy before them.

When the people came in contact with these persons they found them to be mechanically and blindly following the leadership of other countries. This naturally gave birth to a sense of apathy towards communist ideas among them. This apart, what received utter neglect was the practice of proletarian cultural and ethical values of life. We know that it is only by exhausting humanist ethics, moral and culture that one can give birth to higher proletarian ethics and culture.

So all expected that these communists would reflect a higher culture and ethical standard than the humanists. But these people in reality manifested a cultural-ethical standard even lower than the humanist nationalist leaders of that time. All these only helped to develop a sense of indifference towards communism and leftism and create a fertile ground for the reactionary thoughts and ideas to flourish.

The Marxists know that it is only by correctly integrating the theory with practice that one can acquire a correct knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. But how can one ascertain that he has acquired such a knowledge? *The acid test as to whether one has correctly realised Marxism-Leninism is whether a high cultural ethical standard is being reflected in his life.*

For each and every revolution there is a cultural revolution conducive to the growth of that political technical revolution. Lenin also said: cultural revolution precedes technical revolution.

But how can we acquire this higher cultural ethical standard? Can we acquire

this simply by organising cultural movement? Not at all.

No doubt, the issues of cultural, ethical and moral values have a theoretical aspect and we must have to constantly conduct dialogues and discussions. But the primary condition to achieve that, is to take political initiative so as to wholeheartedly and unconditionally involve one's self to build up organisation.

If we lack in this political initiative, then despite our sincere efforts our movement to build up a higher cultural and ethical standard will become a fashion.

Because what is the object behind our movement for attaining a higher cultural-ethical standard? The object is revolution. We want revolution, we want emancipation from all sorts of exploitation. We must build up necessary struggle for that. So what we need is political initiative.

It is a fact that at the moment we lack in organisational strength to fulfil the historical task entrusted upon us. But we can fulfil our task, if we can make our knowledge creative, concrete and active and sharpen our political initiative. If we, to fulfil the historical responsibility entrusted upon us, with firm determination and waiving the banner of communism, go to the people, among whom there is already a wide-spread feeling of goodwill, affection and confidence about the party, then we will succeed in our mission. They have only one question in their mind, will we win? Comrade Ghosh urged us to answer with confidence: *Yes, we dare we shall win, we dare—we win.*

We are undertaking that responsibility, we must rise to the occasion. We must shake off all our limitations

slackness and inaction. We must take political initiative, go to the masses to convince them that here is a communist party, founded and reared by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat,—a party distinctly different from other parties.

If you stand by our side then we are confident to fulfil the task the history has entrusted upon us.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, our leader and teacher, had assured us:

Way is long, but future is with you provided you dare to lead the masses and you perform your duty accordingly.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Speech

In the last session of the School, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party addressed the house.

Comrade Mukherjee, in his speech while highlighting some of the important aspects of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, drew attention to the current political situation, appealed to us to fulfil the behest of Comrade Ghosh, our leader and teacher, the great leader of the proletariat.

Comrade Mukherjee observed that:

Comrade Ghosh approached philosophy from an angle distinctly different from the conventional method usually practised by other authorities of the international communist movement. So if we sincerely desire to realise his thoughts and teachings then we must follow his method of approach. Then and then only we will be able to correctly understand and tackle all the problems confronting the lives and struggles of our people and of ourselves. Then and then only we will succeed to correctly grasp the laws governing the phenomena and consciously act on them, accelerate them so as to change the world.

But we cannot change the world so long we remain victims of bourgeois reactionary decadent

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TRIPURA MASSACRE :

Whose Responsibility

"A mound of broken pots, twisted corrugated sheets and ashes. Dogs, busy ferreting out corpses from crude shallow graves. The fetid stench of death is overpowering. A skull, a short distance away lies in the gutter." (Contour, 22-28 June)

This is not the description of devastation caused by the Nazis during the last Second World War. Nor was it an attempt to depict the horrible spectacle of an Indo-Chinese village after a savage attack by the army of the US imperialists during the last Vietnam war.

In fact this is the description of Mandai, a village in Tripura after an orgy of violence, a murderous terrorism that resulted in frenzied mass killing, arson and loot, a carnage that has few parallels in the country's long black history of heinous bloody communal war.

To them Mandai is India's MyLai. Even the name of Mandai generates terror in their mind. Even the other day it was a village with scenic beauty, a green bowl surrounded by hills on three sides inhabited by 600 non-tribal people. But today after being entirely burnt to ashes in half a day, and following the decimation of the population in the carnage, the few who have survived are not in physical condition even to describe their horrible experience in words.

But Mandai is not an isolated instance. Several such Mandais were created within a period of two night-marish days in a tiny state with only 10,500 sqs. K.m. area.

Few days after Mandai it was discovered that worst carnage had shaken four villages of Maharani. Reliable sources stated that at least half of the population of these four villages together with a total population of 8000 people were killed in the carnage.

It is a fact that it is hardly possible to give an exact figure of the victims of this man-made catastrophe.

All conservative

reliable non-official estimates are however agreed on the point that some thousands of people were killed, several thousands were injured, and nearly four lakhs of people of the state which has a total population below nineteen lakhs were rendered homeless.

The Chief Minister of the state of course did not agree with these figures. Like a leader of a bourgeois government, the Chief Minister of the CPI (M) led 'Left Front' Government in his bid to shield their failure and callousness took to most nefarious tactics to deflate the actual figure of the death toll of this genocide. It was learnt that immediately after the tragedy, the authorities took all possible means to hurriedly dispose of the bodies in graves or burnt them on mass funeral pyres, or threw them away into rivers.

For some days he struck to only 315 as the figure of death toll, lastly however his government raised the figure to 400.

But what deserves most serious criticism was the fact, that even after the newsmen told him that they had seen innumerable bodies he without taking any step to ascertain the fact, simply refused to believe them.

To them he remarked 'They must have been dug up by stray dogs'. He even cautioned the journalists against giving any reliance to any other casualty figure save that supplied by the doctors who performed post mortem. Whereas even the officials observed that not even 50% of the bodies detected were taken for post mortem. Several dead bodies were found to be floating down rivers, and one report from Bangladesh claimed that about seven hundred such bodies were detected

floating down rivers, across the border of Bangladesh and Tripura.

One journalist was found to comment that as Mr. Chakraborty could hardly blame this on dogs, he ignored the fact altogether. Now from all these things, let the people themselves judge what truth lies under the 'fact' put forward by the Chief Minister of the state.

The truth is that, what has happened in Tripura is, in regard to the question of the magnitude of brutal mass killing alone, unprecedented among similar incidents of carnage that took place in the country in the recent past.

Such an unprecedented large scale brutal massacre of the innocents at the hands of parochial and communal forces, more particularly at a time when the air and sky of the North-Eastern region reverberated with the sound of drumbeating by similar rabid parochial and communal forces, have caused serious alarm to the people in all parts of the country.

Expressing his grave concern, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the beloved General Secretary of our party, in a statement issued to the press, observed: 'This incident has proved how the influence of the secessionist and parochial movement of Assam has spread throughout the whole of North Eastern region due to the callous attitude and non-adoption of proper measure in time by the respective governments. It is our firm opinion that both the Central and the State Governments are responsible for this incident in Tripura'.

While urging for immediate adequate arrangement for the safety and security of the people, Comrade Mukherjee demanded that 'the government must take effective steps for the economic development of the region and protection of their language for which resentment is growing among the people.'

Now what haunts the mind of the people most

is the question, how could such a ghastly incident of brutal carnage centring round communal tension happen in a state where a government claiming itself left—a government led by a party claiming to be a Marxist-Leninist party was in power?

Most often one hears that Tripura is a stronghold of the CPI(M). In the last Assembly election they won 56 seats in the 60-seated Assembly of the state. They often claimed that this was a reflection of their ideological influence over the people of the state, a glorious manifestation of their long untiring effort to build up leftism, develop left and democratic movement in the state.

If this was a fact then how could such an incident of bestial mass killing happen in such a state? And the things have not taken the present shape suddenly in one day?

Like all other states of the North-Eastern region, Tripura is also a most neglected state in so far as industrial growth and economic development is concerned.

The backward tribal people of the state who were mainly dependant on land had to pass their life in severe hardship and toil.

Now, the influx of population mostly from East Pakistan and Bangladesh over years had disturbed the state's demographic equilibrium. Constituting 48% of the total population in 1941, the tribals had been reduced of 29% by 1971. This no doubt added to the growing pressure on land, the influx of population made the problems in the life of the people of an industrially undeveloped state like Tripura more acute. This gradually created alienation and generated socio-economic tension between the two ethnic groups of people, namely the tribals and non-tribals. The parochial and communal forces such as TUJS and Amra Bangali having their influence, respectively on the tribal and non-tribal, capitalised

on this tension and utilised this to launch hate campaign against each other and generate animosity among them. Such a state of animosity existing between the two communities no doubt provided ground in flaring up the communal war that led to bestial killing of people on a gruesome scale.

But the most pertinent question is what must be the role of a genuine left government led by a party claiming itself Marxist-Leninist? Did the left government, and its leader, the CPI (M), which claimed to have enormous influence on the people play that role? These are the questions which most people ask today.

All of us know that as an inevitable outcome of the failure of national struggle in the country to integrate the people of the country in a nation with a common culture and mental make up, throughout the country, more or less in all states, the Indian toiling people have remained divided basing on nationality, tribe, community, religion, caste etc etc.

All must therefore agree that in such a situation a genuine left Government has only one task to perform. While taking all active initiatives to fulfil those legitimate demands of the people, the fulfilment of which are conducive to the growth of revolutionary struggle in the country, a party which claims itself to be Marxist-Leninist must build up a broad left and democratic movement involving the people of different communities, develop struggle for their cultural integration, so as to unite them, make them politically conscious, channelise their movement against their common enemy—capitalism, the source of all their miseries and destitution. It is only through this process that they can unite the toiling people of different communities who will then feel an identity of class interest and there will develop among these

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RESIST THIS ATTACK

With days passing toiling millions of the country are increasingly groaning under the crushing wheel of the exploitative capitalist system and the ruling class and their governments are more and more shifting the burden of crisis of moribund capitalist order on to the shoulder of the common people. Through various bourgeois economic planings and yearly budgets the governments at the centre as well as states, irrespective of their nomenclature, are achieving this class objective by enhancing prices and imposing unlimited indirect taxes on commodities of daily necessities of the common people on the one hand and on the other giving bumper concessions of millions of rupees every year to the urban and rural bourgeoisie. Moreover they are now, so to say, vying with each other in this respect to please their masters—the bourgeoisie. Let alone the instances of the last 32 years of Congress rule, the last year's Charan Singh's budget of the Janata Government at the centre thrust upon the common people a record amount of taxes, mostly indirect taxes directly affecting the life of the common men which, even according to government figures, shoot up the wholesale price by 22.9% within only one year. In the mean time the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal also under the smoke-screen of their self-styled leftism did not lag behind. In these three years they through their four successive budgets including interim one have already imposed huge amount of indirect tax burden on the toiling people of the state. Year after year it has enhanced police budget and thus strengthened the arm of this oppressive bourgeois capitalist state machine.

Thus, when an all pervading crisis has engulfed people's life, of late a spell of fresh economic attack through

the newly placed railway and general budget and price rise of oil by the centre have aggravated the situation further. Steep rise in railway freight and fare coupled with raising of price of petrol and diesel and petrol products has pushed up the market price still further and cost of living to a new high which will be far higher in near future. Along with it the effect of nearly Rs. 1400 crores of deficit financing is obvious for the days to come.

In such a situation the bus-owners of West Bengal demanding increase in fare on the plea that they would incur loss due to the rise in price of diesel went on strike in a most high-handed manner, and put the people in inhuman difficulties while the 'Left Front' Government stood like a dumb spectator and enhanced bus-fare to please the bus owners outrightly. People's concrete experience tells that the private bus-owners by lowering the number of buses and carrying passengers even beyond standing capacity in a sub-human condition are reaping fabulous profit. So it is not at all a fact that without rise in fare they would incur losses. What they can at best say is that the price-hike of oil has caused a marginal decrease in this super profit. Then how is that a government claiming itself pro-people and left readily endorses fare-hike simply to maintain the excess rate of profit for the owners and for this compels the common people to pay more specially when their life is already over burdened with soaring prices and back-breaking taxes?

Not only that; whereas it was the bounden duty of the 'Left Front' Government to firmly handle this anti-people strike of the bus-owners and protect the common people from the onslaught it, on the contrary joined the conspiracy and raised the fare of state buses also. Already the

government, by introducing special buses and deploying 'L' buses in greater number curtailing the number of ordinary buses, has long been cunningly squeezing higher fares from the passengers. What else could be a greater hypocrisy on the part of a government claiming itself left? This ruling alliance claim itself left and pro-people but while it was the need of the hour for any truly left party or parties to unite the distressed people over-ridden with excessive taxation and mounting price-rise against raising the price of oil and railway fare and freight by the central Congress (I) Government and to wage a united vigorous movement against it, they under the cover of a nominal and routine protest are practically agreeing to all these anti-people acts. Is that all? No. They in support of the bus fare rise are using the same plea "As price of diesel has gone up it is natural that bus fare will also go up." By this they are only distracting the attention of the people from the path of movement. Thus they are conspiring to frustrate people's legitimate movements from within the rank of the masses. But once these very 'left' parties raised their voice against similar pleas and attempts of the Congress Government in the past and joined in movement along with our party but to-day are doing just the opposite.

No doubt they then did it from the opposition only for capitalising the people's grievances to fulfil their petty electoral ends. Now being in the government, to earn the confidence of the ruling bourgeoisie they are doing just what the Congress did in the past and is doing at the present.

But would the toiling people of our country specially the people of West Bengal, the citadel of left movement in India, be deceived and frustrated so easily? Can they forget their past heritage of struggle and sacrifice?

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TRIPURA MASSACRE

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people the sense of belonging to the Indian toiling people.

It is for this reason that the growth of genuine left forces in a country is manifested in gradual fulfilling of these tasks in the socio-political cultural and economic arena of the country.

But what do the people experience in Tripura? Even during the regime of the Congress party in the past, the communal frenzy did never take such an ugly shape and resulted in mass killing, arson and loot of such a huge dimension.

Will it then be wrong to presume that with the installation of a CPI (M) led government in the state, it is not unity, but alienation, tension and animosity that are more and more developing among the different ethnic groups of people and as an inevitable outcome of it, the parochial and communal feelings and sentiments, instead of declining are gradually increasing among the people of the state?

One will not find it much difficult to grasp the underlying reason, if one takes note of the fact that the CPI (M) which boasts to have a stronghold in Tripura since their coming to power in the state instead of trying to resolve the legitimate demands of the different ethnic groups of people in the perspective of developing leftism and left and democratic movement in the country has been reflecting an attitude of patting and wooing on all these issues. The step that they have taken in this regard has therefore helped to intensify the parochial and communal feeling of the different communities to such a high dimension that ultimately this has burst out in a most ugly form and resulted in brutal massacre. If one ignores this basic, objective determining factor and instead tries to explain the whole incident as the outcome of reactionary machination and

foreign intrigue alone then such an explanation is bound to be a pure and simple oversimplification of the whole issue.

Now from all these things one may presume that the CPI (M) have, in the name of leftism, actually taken the path of parliamentary politics and just like the bourgeois parties, to reap a maximum dividend in favour of their politics of exigency and opportunism they are engaged in wooing over and pandering to the parochial and communal feelings and sentiments.

We hope, the rank and file of the CPI (M) will seriously ponder over it.

This apart, there is another vital issue which too deserves serious attention of all. We find it really astounding that after such a grievous incident of brutal mass killing in the country, when it is the primary duty of every civilised government to immediately come forward, stop and arrest the escalation of such a fratricidal war, punish all those who are involved in the incident and give relief to the victims, both the Central and State governments are instead found to be engaged in mutual apportioning of blame.

To them it matters little how many human lives have been lost or how irreparable damage has been done by this man-made catastrophe.

Their main object is how they can put the blame each on the shoulder of the other, thereby shirk their own responsibility in the whole affair.

Again, regarding the state government in particular, perhaps the less said the better. They have failed miserably to show even that much sense of duty and responsibility which a bourgeois government even usually reflects.

They completely failed to feel the tension that was developing in the state over the demands of

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Covering of huge budget gap by deficit financing will lead to runaway inflation

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daily commuters are facing increasing hazards in railway journey, the service reaching the bottom of inefficiency and uncertainty, the fares are increasing. And the hike in freight on goods is sure to generate an inflationary effect over the prices of wider range of consumption articles and services. In the background of interlinking with hike in Petrol, Diesel and even Kerosene prices, increase in bus fares as also railway fare and freight, the general budget is to be viewed.

General budget—beneath the surface

The Finance Minister has presented a deceptive budget. On the face of it, it may appear to be responsive to the sufferings of the people, particularly the urban middle class. Personal income tax exemption limit has been raised to Rs. 12,000 from the existing limit of Rs. 10,000. Surcharge on personal income tax has also been reduced to 10% from 20%. Standard deductions for qualifying savings which were withdrawn in Charan Singh budget have been restored. Besides, there are some more minor concessions like abolition of licence fee on cheaper radio, relief granted to pensioners and sportsmen, reduction or abolition of excise duties on some consumption goods like cheap cotton, cloth, bicycle, sewing machine etc. But concessions are more to the rich than to the poor. The concessions like tax holiday to the new investors, additional depreciation allowance and even reduction of excise and customs duties, huge amount of subsidies and subventions take larger chunk of the revenues to protect the profits of the capitalists, both rural and urban. Similar are the efforts like raising the ceiling for wealth tax and the concessions in agricultural income tax and for the Hindu undivided families.

They all go to oil the oily heads of the rich. On the other hand, even for the middle income groups for whom the exemption limit is lauded to the sky, the gain will be marginal. Because income slab of Rs. 8,000 with nil tax has been maintained. For this, those who will come under taxable income will have to pay tax in excess of Rs. 8,000 minus the standard reductions. Even the tax exemption for educational expenses for sons and daughters has been withdrawn.

But the deception was writ large in the very next proposal of the Finance Minister: "to spread the effect of additional burden on a wide range of products", the rate of special excise duty will be raised from present 5 p.c. to 10 p.c. The Finance Minister has imposed a 5 p.c. special excise on most such items as are exempt at present.

Not only this, Rs. 13 crores will be further raised by increase in postal tariff. Postal letter will cost 35 paise, rates for parcels will also increase and telephone installation and calls will cost more. From these increases in service charges of post and telegraph, additional revenue to the tune of Rs. 27 crores will be raised.

So, the break-up figures for the additional tax burden of Rs. 282 crores come Rs. 223.22 crores, from central excise duties and Rs. 39.58 crores from customs duties. Out of which relief announced amounts to Rs. 34.75 crores on central excise and Rs. 7.93 crores on the customs side.

So, the much trumpeted concessions to the middle class and poor people will prove to be illusory. That is why, even the bourgeois economist circle admits that some of the duty increases taken in conjunction with the pre-budget price increases will in fact increase the burden on the consumer through increase in both project cost and

current production cost to a much larger extent than what would have resulted from direct increase in duties on consumer goods.

Deficits window-dressed

The deficit in the budget has been shown to be of the order of Rs. 1,417 crores when the actual, from all available data, comes near around Rs. 2,700 crores. Now what are the tricks adopted to show a low figure of the deficits? First, credit has been taken for receipts from the IMF Trust Fund of Rs. 540 crores against nil received last year. Larger external assistance at Rs. 800 crores against last year's figure of Rs. 531 crores has been assumed as also the total figure of subsidies and subventions now reaching the alarming proportion of Rs. 1,813 crores has been presumed to remain the same.

But the subsidies which form bulk of the non-developmental expenditure and take two-third share of central budget deficit will not remain the same from all indications. Given the burden of revenue deficit (estimated to rise to Rs. 1,177 crores from Rs. 871 crores) and capital disbursements including increased expenditure on defence (Rs. 3,600 crores shown in the budget) by Rs. 300 crores over the interim budget figure, show less possibility of bridging the gap other than deficit financing by a large dose, subsequently. The Finance Minister has not categorically said that deficit-financing will not be resorted to but he only repeated the time-worn promise of seeing that this does not add more sufferings to the people. But the situation is such that a further dose of Rs. 500 crores by way of deficit financing may lead to runaway inflation. This takes us to a brief survey of the state of the economy admitted even by the government agencies.

Stagnation writ large on the economy

The Economic Survey,

circulated before the budget by the Ministry of Finance and the World Bank's report on Indian economy both present a gloomy picture. The salient points may be summarised as follows:

1) 21% rise in wholesale prices in a year coupled with estimated drop of 3% in GNP indicate what is now called 'Stagnation'. That is to say inflation along with stagnation.

2) Underlying this deep stagnation is deceleration in industrial capacity utilisation along with inceptant cost escalation which is almost certain to assume now fairly acute and conspicuous proportions.

3) The exchange reserves, once thought to be giving soundness to the economy seems to be fragile because of heavier drain due to rise in oil prices.

4) In order to maintain a hand to mouth existence, foreign exchange will have to be earned at the heavier cost of export subsidies. This in turn will further push up non-developmental expenditure and deficits in revenue accounts.

5) Constraints in strategic materials and infra-structure including electricity have assumed serious proportions, coal, cement, power all have failed to cope with current demands, not to speak of the demand in near future. A massive investment is therefore required to remove the bottle neck.

6) But the huge revenue earnings both from mounting taxes as also non-tax sources have gone mostly to feed non-developmental expenditure of the government which are ever on the increase.

What is the picture coming out then? It shows that with the ever-deepening crisis in capitalist market, world over, Indian capitalists find to their dismay that while the national market is ever shrinking due to steady fall in purchasing power of the people, the sharp competition in the world market for Indian goods requires increasing rate of governmental

backings in the form of export subsidies. The huge money now collected by the government in the name of capital investment on planning is in fact being used to feed rising cost of top heavy bureaucratic administration and to protect industrial and rural bourgeoisie by way of subsidies and subventions. In fact, it is the government that has appeared in the role of providing a protected market to the capitalists ensuring at the same time maximum profit by the tools of monetary and fiscal policies. But the crisis is so deep that even maintenance of the routine economic activity has become a big problem.

The fact will be obvious from some relevant data. In Charan Singh's budget, last year, the increase in plan outlay was considerably less than additional taxation plus the budget deficit (Rs. 665 crores plus Rs. 1,382 crores) but the deficit doubled to Rs. 2,700 crores. So, while taxation has become heavier and reached a stage when increase is not bringing proportionate return, the plan outlay has steadily fallen from 31 p.c. in 1976-77 to 24 p.c. in 1977-78, 17 p.c. in 1978-79, to only 7.4 p.c. in 1979-80, 14.5 p.c. in the current year. In view of high inflation, what this figure will really mean in terms of physical targets is easily imaginable.

Danger Signals

The Economy Survey of the Finance Ministry admits that: "The control of inflation will require much more than the regulation of individual price which shows spectacular increases. Aggregate demand management policies will have to be pushed actively,—especially to dampen inflationary expectations." "But the contradiction between the wisdom in monetary policies and the exigencies of fiscal policies become evident when the same survey admits that for this wisdom to be effective! "aggregate demand management should be shared between

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To be worthy disciples of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh we must identify ourself with the cause of revolution and the party he built brick by brick

—Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

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ideas which are constantly trying to influence us.

To play the historical role entrusted upon us, to build up the new society, we must free ourselves from the influence of all bourgeois decadent ideas and values, and build up struggle covering all aspects of our life so as to mould our life and erect it on the edifice of proletarian ethics, values and culture.

It is a continuous struggle. The world is ever changing. More and more there appear new horizons in the domain of knowledge. So, one cannot remain static in his old position. He must either progress or recede. To march onward, we must constantly upgrade ourselves in all aspects of life by keeping the struggle living in the party, covering both leaders and cadres. We must remember that those who fail to keep up such struggle living within the party then despite their pious wish, sincerity and dedication, they are bound to fail to develop a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

Realising from the failures of the so-called communist parties to develop as genuine Marxist-Leninist party on the soil, Comrade Ghosh from the very beginning of building up our party, gave emphasis on developing such a struggle concretely within the party embracing both leaders and cadres.

And what is the outcome? By following such a process, Comrade Ghosh created a band of revolutionaries within the party, which braving all odds are gradually spreading over the country and have already developed its organisation in fifteen states whereas, those once 'big' communist parties despite enjoying international recognition and backing and usurping the entire success and glory of the international

communist movement are gradually disintegrating into splinter parties.

Not only that during all critical national moments our party guided by the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh time and again discharged the responsibility of a genuine revolutionary party on the soil, even during all crucial moments of international communist movement it discharged its role in the said movement by giving correct opinions and suggestion based on scientific analysis of the related issues, even before the leading communist parties of the international movement came forward with their considered opinions and views.

Despite our organisational weakness this has been possible, because our real strength lies in (1) the correct base political line of the proletariat, (2) the crystal clear idea of the perspective based on correct scientific analysis of the situation and (3) the struggle to develop among both the leaders and cadres, a correct understanding of the science of Marxism-Leninism covering all aspects of life.

To continuously discharge our historical role, every one of us, must improve our level of consciousness, must contemplate, must work with sincerity and dedication and understand the line of the party and take active initiative, to identify with the cause of revolution. The teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is our great treasure. It will always guide us like a pole star in our path leading to our goal. We must try to realise it correctly and orient our life accordingly.

Witnessing a critical situation in the country, Comrade Ghosh seven years back, cautioned us regarding the reactionary wave that was then growing in the country.

Today also, we are facing a critical situation. There is all out crisis of capitalism in the country, which is being reflected in the disintegration of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties. The forces that the other day were the partners of mass movement are now part of the establishment. The bourgeoisie is counting on the CPI(M) which they think can give a lease of life,

SUCI's Call to the People : Repulse Capitalist Oppression by United Mass Movement

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fiscal and monetary policy and not...exclusively (by the latter".

It is obvious therefore that what the RBI wants to do by credit restriction is set at naught by the fiscal policies of the government which give prime importance to non-developmental expenditure. Money market drained out through restriction on credit is being flooded by government expenditures sustained by deficit financing. In three years 1976-79 money supply expanded at an average rate of 18 P.C. But bank credit to the government increased at a much higher rate of 28.2 P.C. in 1979-80. This increase went to feed increasing rate of governmental spendings on non-developmental expenditures like administrative costs, subsidies and defence expenditures.

But it is elementary knowledge that unless non-developmental expenditure is reduced, there can be no increase in the investment to meet the growing need of the economy. Back-breaking tax burdens have already become counter-productive. Deficit financing has reached a stage where any further significant dose may trigger off runaway inflation.

In the background of this grim prospect, what the Indira government likes to do? What are the indications, however

at least for some time, to their exploitative system. If it can come to power at the centre at the backing of the bourgeoisie, then it will pose a greater danger to the people.

But still if we can move in a correct way we can make a breakthrough.

The party has already taken various steps and programmes to organise people's struggle all over the country. These programmes have created tremendous enthusiasm among the people: We must take individual and collective initiative to build up these struggles.

We must respond to

the call given by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, seven years back. We must rise to the occasion, free ourselves from our shortcomings, limitations and with all our might try to discharge the responsibility entrusted upon us. We must continue the process, following which Comrade Ghosh developed SUCI as the genuine revolutionary party on our soil.

We must try with all sincerity and dedication to build up ourselves in the mettle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era, a great leader of the proletariat.

tried to be dressed up, in the budget?

It seems that the government is moving cunningly. While it may appear to be responsive to people's sufferings and has made some minor concessions, it keeps in its store measures which are fraught with dangerous consequences. It has already made heavier allocations on defence whose actual figure has been understated to be of Rs. 3600 crores. But taking into account Rs. 327 crores on capital outlay and Rs. 214 crores for the headquarters, it comes to Rs. 4012 crores. The same method of deliberate under-estimation has been made in the matter of subsidies.

To sum up, in order to sustain the crisis-ridden capitalist class and its maximum profits, government revenues which are being collected both by the centre and the states, fleecing the common people are being used. As the crisis deepens, the economy stagnates further. There is no question of further investments to cater to the needs of the ever-swelling unemployed manpower. Artificial stimulation of market by defence-oriented production, export-oriented production heavily backed up by government revenues, assured profits by way of subventions and subsidies have become the usual features of management of the economy. These are

unmistakable signs of decay of a thoroughly outmoded productive system. Faced with such a crisis, the bourgeoisie will try for both. It will try to keep the bulk of the rural people engaged in so-called rural employment programme, and such other petty reforms as contained in 20-point programme. It will also try to impose heavier burden on the working class by putting more and more restrictions on its economic and political rights. The double faced tactics of persuasion and repression of fascism will become more and more evident from the ruling parties. From Congress (I) to CPI(M) same kind of deceptive tactics are coming. Meanwhile, the unbearable burden of capitalist crisis is stirring up the exploited people.

But lest this stirring does lead to sharpening of class battles against the main enemy, crisis-ridden capitalism and its political agents, all these agents—the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social democratic parties together with parochial forces are fomenting communal, regional and other parochial feelings to tear assunder whatever amount of emotional bond of integration and class solidarity was built up through decades of common struggles by the toiling people. The danger of

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TRIPURA MASSACRE

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the tribal community and more particularly the enactment of Autonomous Councils and take necessary steps in the perspective of bringing about amity between the different communities and now after the tragic incident of savage mass killing are trying to put the entire blame on the intelligence for failure.

The CPI(M) often boasts that Tripura is their citadel. One would like to ask them, what kind of organisation do they possess in their stronghold so that they have to exclusively depend on the bureaucratic machinery for information regarding such an impending danger.

They are also trying to convince that foreign hands have worked behind the incident. Have they ever thought how the foreign hands, if they had at all worked from behind, could get the necessary scope and opportunity in their own citadel, their stronghold?

From many circles, after a critical examination of various facts and incidents that are gradually coming to light, it has been alleged that they are directly involved in this tragic incident of brutal carnage.

Whether they have failed to tackle the situation, or are directly involved in the whole affair, or if actually their failure and involvement both are intertwined—whatever it may be—none of it at all indicates that they have behaved responsibly or performed the duty of a responsible government in a civil society.

The situation, now in Tripura, after the state has just passed through an inferno, is really critical.

Both the TUJS (Tripura Upajati Yuba Samity) and Amta Bangali are trying to make maximum political capital out of it.

Parochial and communal frenzy are still rampant among the people of the state.

In such a serious crisis of the people, the saner

section of both the communities must come forward to rebuild amity between both the communities.

The people of both communities must realise the truth that both are integral parts of the Indian toiling people. It is a fact that on the question of culture, language, social customs, manners and habits each community has its own distinguishing features. But the contradiction that exists between them centring round these features, judged in the context of their struggle against capitalism, their common enemy, is basically non-antagonistic in nature. With the growth of socio-cultural exchange between them, this will be slowly and steadily eliminated.

They must note that they are not the enemy of each other. Both of them have one common enemy, the capitalism, the ruling capitalist class. It is capitalism which is the source, the cause of all their miseries.

It is a fact that both the communities and particularly the tribal people have many legitimate demands. But they must note that to realise them, they must have to fight against the establishment, the system—against capitalism.

They must not fall victim to the bourgeois machination which aims

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inter-community clashes and fratricidal conflicts all over the country, to the glee of the crisis-ridden capitalist class, is looming large. It must be averted. To avert this catastrophe, the only course that remains open is to develop democratic mass struggle of the toiling people against capitalist exploitation. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are engaged in their mutual contentions and collusions for share of parliamentary powers and privileges and care a fig for the country's future and people's

at instigating one section of the people against another and thereby tries to give fresh lease of life to crisis-ridden capitalism.

Whoever do it, donning whatever cloak and raising whatever slogan are the enemy of the people. The people of the state must realise another truth that the CPI(M) has given up the path of movement and taken over the 'noble' responsibility of serving the establishment, protecting the capitalist state and system. Such a leadership can never carry forward their cause. To gain dividend in election politics, like the bourgeois parties, they may woo them, pander to their sentiment, but in reality they will deceive them.

So they must find out the genuine left leadership and stand by it.

It is only a genuine left leadership which by developing left and democratic movement in the correct track, through the involvement of people of all communities will succeed in uniting them and ultimately pave the path to a greater struggle for emancipation from the capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Today there is no other alternative course to emancipation from the existing critical and suffocating situation, from the existing all pervading misery of the life of the people.

School of Politics

sufferings. But the crisis will mature. Either the bourgeoisie will impose its will by foisting all-out fascism or the working people under the revolutionary leadership of their party SUCI will wrest the initiative.

We call upon the toiling people not to waste time and miss the opportunity they yet possess, to build up their own power of mass struggle to resist the dark design, the crisis-ridden ruling class may opt for its own class solution. It is by forging their class unity and organising democratic mass move-

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on Central Budget

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budget and the latest spate of additional duty on diesel and petrol which will fleece an additional amount of Rs. 300 crores and Rs. 2100 crores respectively per year from the very same poor people-

this budget is sure to set in a fresh inflationary spurt which must be resisted by the people by organising mass movement against the exploitative and moribund capitalist system of our country."

RESIST THIS ATTACK

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Would we forget so easily the history of movement against only one paise rise in tram fare when so many youths and students laid down their lives on the streets of the city? And to-day when the whole of the society and toiling masses are bled white under the grinding wheel of far more oppression and capitalist exploitation would we bear all this silently? Never. It is true that as the days are passing by, the more the crisis of the system is deepening the more the social democratic parties and partis like CPI(M), CPI and their allies, let alone the branded bourgeois parties, are coming forward to the rescue of their masters—the moribund bourgeoisie. Naturally, after getting in to the governmental power they are shunning the path of mass struggle, advising the people not to follow the path of movement. But where they are failing to dissuade the people they are suppressing each and every movement organised by the toiling people with fascist brutality.

People must realise that it is their uncompromising protracted struggle conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution on the edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics, leading to the over-
ments under the revolutionary leadership of SUCI against the mounting attacks of the capitalist class that the toiling people can really advance towards their own emancipation. Concrete situation brings this concrete lesson to them.

throw of this moribund capitalist order that can solve their problems basically and ameliorate their miseries totally. Anything short of this, changes of government and all such are only bourgeois deceptions and trickeries to keep them confined within the four walls of bourgeois parliamentarism, to continue the steamroller of capitalist exploitation.

Even the parties who were so long known as lefts, have today gone over to serve the bourgeoisie, and are engaged in a naked race to get the blessings of the exploiter capitalist class. But the toiling people are not left alone. There is the revolutionary party of the Indian down-trodden masses—the SUCI, reared by the great leader of the proletariat Com. Shibdas Ghosh. Braving all odds it has come forward to organise the exploited masses against all these oppression and deception of the ruling class and to build up mighty people's movement conducive to the growth and development of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Nothing can forstall or detract this revolutionary party from the path of mass movement. For people's onward march on the path of movement and giving a befitting rebuff to this notorious game of the bourgeoisie now people's initiative and consciousness is necessary. We call upon the oppressed people to free themselves from all illusions, come forward and join in mass movement under the revolutionary leadership of SUCI. This is the only way—the only ray of hope.

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